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THE NATION IN ARMS

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WHY WE ARE FIGHTING GERMANY.

By FRANKLIN K. LANE, *Secretary of the Interior.*

WHY are we fighting Germany? The brief answer is that ours is a war of self-defense. We did not wish to fight Germany. She made the attack upon us; not on our shores, but on our ships, our lives, our rights, our future. For two years and more we held to a neutrality that made us apologists for things which outraged man's common sense of fair play and humanity. At each new offense—the invasion of Belgium, the killing of civilian Belgians, the attacks on Scarborough and other defenseless towns, the laying of mines in neutral waters, the fencing off of the seas—and on and on through the months we said: "This is war—archaic, uncivilized war, but war! All rules have been thrown away: all nobility; man has come down to the primitive brute. And while we cannot justify we will not intervene. It is not our war."

Then why are we in? Because we could not keep out. The invasion of Belgium, which opened the war, led to the invasion of the United States by slow, steady, logical steps. Our sympathies evolved into a conviction of self-interest. Our love of fair play ripened into alarm at our own peril.

We talked in the language and in the spirit of good faith and sincerity, as honest men should talk, until we discovered that our talk was construed as cowardice. And Mexico was called upon to invade us. We talked as men would talk who cared alone for peace and the advancement of their own material interests, until we discovered that we were thought to be a nation of mere money makers, devoid of all character—until, indeed, we were told that we could not walk the highways of the world without permission of a Prussian soldier; that our ships might not sail without wearing a

striped uniform of humiliation upon a narrow path of national subservience. We talked as men talk who hope for honest agreement, not for war, until we found that the treaty torn to pieees at Liège was but the symbol of a poliey that made agreements worthless against a purpose that knew no word but sueeess.

And so we eame into this war for ourselves. It is a war to save Ameriea—to preserve self-respeet, to justify our right to live as we have lived, not as some one else wishes us to live. In the name of freedom we ehallenge with ships and men, money, and an undaunted spirit, that word "Verboten" whieh Germany has written upon the sea and upon the land. For Ameriea is not the name of so mueh territory. It is a living spirit, born in travail, grown in the rough sehool of bitter experienees, a living spirit whieh has purpose and pride, and eonseience—knows why it wishes to live and to what end, knows how it eomes to be respeeted of the world, and hopes to retain that respect by living on with the light of Lineoln's love of man as its Old and New Testament. It is more preeious that this Ameriea should live than that we Americans should live. And this Ameriea, as we now see, has been ehallenged from the first of this war by the strong arm of a power that has no sympathy with our purpose and will not hesitate to destroy us if the law that we respeet, the rights that are to us saered, or the spirit that we have, stand aeross her set will to make this world bow before her polieies, baeked by her organized and seientifie military system. The world of Christ—a negleeted but not a rejeeted Christ—has eome again faee to faee with the world of Mahomet, who willed to win by foree.

With this baekground of history and in this sense, then, we fight Germany—

Beeause of Belgium—invaded, outraged, enslaved, impoverished Belgium. We eannot forget Liège, Louvain, and Cardinal Mereier. Translated into terms of Ameriean history, these names stand for Bunker Hill, Lexington, and Patriek Henry.

Beeause of Franee—invaded, deseerated Franee, a million of whose heroie sons have died to save the land of Lafayette. Glorious golden Franee, the preserver of the arts, the land

of noble spirit—the first land to follow our lead into republican liberty.

Because of England—from whom came the laws, traditions, standards of life, and inherent love of liberty which we call Anglo-Saxon civilization. We defeated her once upon the land and once upon the sea. But Australia, New Zealand, Africa, and Canada are free because of what we did. And they are with us in the fight for the freedom of the seas.

Because of Russia—New Russia. She must not be overwhelmed now. Not now, surely, when she is just born into freedom. Her peasants must have their chance; they must go to school to Washington, to Jefferson, and to Lincoln until they know their way about in this new, strange world of government by the popular will.

Because of other peoples, with their rising hope that the world may be freed from government by the soldier.

We are fighting Germany because she sought to terrorize us and then to fool us. We could not believe that Germany would do what she said she would do upon the seas.

We still hear the piteous cries of children coming up out of the sea where the *Lusitania* went down. And Germany has never asked forgiveness of the world.

We saw the *Sussex* sunk, crowded with the sons and daughters of neutral nations.

We saw ship after ship sent to the bottom—ships of mercy bound out of America for the Belgian starving; ships carrying the Red Cross and laden with the wounded of all nations; ships carrying food and clothing to friendly, harmless, terrorized peoples; ships flying the Stars and Stripes—sent to the bottom hundreds of miles from shore, manned by American seamen, murdered against all law, without warning.

We believed Germany's promise that she would respect the neutral flag and the rights of neutrals, and we held our anger and outrage in check. But now we see that she was holding us off with fair promises until she could build her huge fleet of submarines. For when spring came she blew her promise into the air, just as at the beginning she had torn up that "scrap of paper." Then we saw clearly that there was but one law for Germany—her will to rule.

We are fighting Germany because she violated our confidence. Paid German spies filled our cities. Officials of her Government, received as the guests of this Nation, lived with us to bribe and terrorize, defying our law and the law of nations.

We are fighting Germany because while we were yet her friends—the only great power that still held hands off—she sent the Zimmermann note, calling to her aid Mexico, our southern neighbor, and hoping to lure Japan, our western neighbor, into war against this Nation of peace.

The nation that would do these things proclaims the gospel that government has no conscience. And this doctrine cannot live, or else democracy must die. For the nations of the world must keep faith. There can be no living for us in a world where the state has no conscience, no reverence for the things of the spirit, no respect for international law, no mercy for those who fall before its force. What an unordered world! Anarchy! The anarchy of rival wolf packs!

We are fighting Germany because in this war feudalism is making its last stand against on-coming democracy. We see it now. This is a war against an old spirit, an ancient, outworn spirit. It is a war against feudalism—the right of the castle on the hill to rule the village below. It is a war for democracy—the right of all to be their own masters. Let Germany be feudal if she will, but she must not spread her system over the world that has outgrown it. Feudalism plus science, thirteenth century plus twentieth—this is the religion of the mistaken Germany that has linked itself with the Turk; that has, too, adopted the method of Mahomet. "The state has no conscience." "The state can do no wrong." With the spirit of the fanatic she believes this gospel and that it is her duty to spread it by force. With poison gas that makes living a hell, with submarines that sneak through the seas to slyly murder noncombatants, with dirigibles that bombard men and women while they sleep, with a perfected system of terrorization that the modern world first heard of when German troops entered China, German feudalism is making war upon mankind. Let this old spirit of evil have its way and no man will live in America

without paying toll to it in manhood and in money. This spirit might demand Canada from a defeated, navyless England, and then our dream of peace on the north would be at an end. We would live, as France has lived for 40 years, in haunting terror.

America speaks for the world in fighting Germany. Mark on a map those countries which are Germany's allies and you will mark but four, running from the Baltic through Austria and Bulgaria to Turkey. All the other nations the whole globe around are in arms against her or are unable to move. There is deep meaning in this. We fight with the world for an honest world in which nations keep their word, for a world in which nations do not live by swagger or by threat, for a world in which men think of the ways in which they can conquer the common cruelties of nature instead of inventing more horrible cruelties to inflict upon the spirit and body of man, for a world in which the ambition or the philosophy of a few shall not make miserable all mankind, for a world in which the man is held more precious than the machine, the system, or the state.

WAR MEASURES AND PURPOSES.

By Newton D. Baker, *Secretary of War.*

In 1776, on the 4th day of July, a nation was born, dedicated to a new theory of government and a new ideal of human liberty. On the 4th day of July, 1917 our newspapers announced throughout a vast and populous continent, to a people who for more than 100 years have known political liberty, and with it unexampled progress, that an expeditionary force of their soldiers had landed, without the loss of a man, on the soil of France to defend in that place the great principle of democracy and liberty under which they have thrived so long.

In passing, it will be deemed appropriate for me to pay a tribute of thanks from the Army to the Navy for the superb way in which they acquitted themselves of the grave responsibility of that convoy. And I think I can say to the American people that the splendid cooperation between the Navy and the Army which characterized this first martial exploit is a promise of a happy and effective cooperation in the future. So that we can look forward to the American Army and the American Navy, the two strong arms of the American people on many glorious fields and on many glorious seas, sustaining the traditions of our country and establishing forever the belief that free men in a battle for freedom fear no foe. But I want to ask your attention to the occasion for our being in France with our soldiers.

One of the traditional policies of the United States from its beginning has been the avoidance of entangling alliances. The United States is in no entangling alliance. We are in this war upon no sordid mission of any sort. We do not seek to take the possessions of any other people or to impose by force our will upon any other people in the making of their government or in an encroachment upon their rights. But after a patience perfectly unparalleled and

after an effort worthy of our civilization to accomplish the recognition of our rights and of our freedom, by diplomacy and by every peaceful art, America is in arms now to vindicate upon the battlefield the right of democracy to exist against the denials of autocracy.

Things have come to a pass in this world where all mankind must choose whether the nations of the earth are to be autocratic in their government and militarist in their pretensions or democratic in their governments and just in their pretensions.

America has chosen—nay, she chose in 1776—that she intended to be democratic in her policies and in her government, and our whole history of more than 100 years justifies the statement that our people are wedded and devoted to the idea of international justice as the rule upon which nations shall live together in peace and amity upon the earth.

So that when we entered this war we entered it in order that we and our children and our children's children might fabricate a new and better civilization under better conditions, enjoying liberty of person, liberty of belief, freedom of speech and freedom as to our political institutions. We entered this war to remove from ourselves, our children and our children's children the menace which threatened to deny us that right.

I want to appeal to you and to all Americans. Never, during the progress of this war, let us for one instant forget the high and holy mission with which we entered it, no matter what the cost, no matter what the temptation.

Let us bring out of this war the flag of our country as untarnished as it goes in, sanctified and consecrated to the establishment of liberty for all men who dwell on the face of the earth.

And now let me take your time just for a moment to tell you something of our preparation. As you know, the Congress of the United States has ordained that we shall undertake extensive military preparation. It is provided that the Army of the United States shall consist of the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the National Army.

The Regular Army and National Guard recruited to war strength, and to them ought to be added 500,000 young

men between the ages of 21 and 31, drawn from the body of our country by selective processes which will recognize the needs of industry, the needs of dependents, and those relations in life which ought not to be sacrificed if our national strength is to be preserved to its maximum efficiency.

And it is provided in the law that when these armies are assembled there shall be no difference between the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the National Army. But every man, whether he has had training in the Regular Army or not, whether he has had training in the guard or not, whether he be a member of the selective National Army, is equal in dignity, in responsibility, and in opportunity—a member of the Army of the United States.

There will be preserved that just pride which the people of our several States have in their own soldier boys, so that the soldier from New York will be known as a part of the contribution of this great Commonwealth to our national strength, and the soldier from Wisconsin and from Ohio and from Texas equally designated; but in the eyes of the country, in all that is done for them and in all that they do for us, there is to be neither distinction nor prejudice nor favoritism, but they stand equal as the servants and as the upholders of our liberties.

And this great company of men are to be trained—they are to be trained to meet modern conditions of war. They are to be equipped with the most modern and effective devices, both for aggression upon our adversary and the protection of our own men. And I want to say to the mothers and fathers, to the wives and sisters, of American soldiers that the Congress has provided the money and the expert minds of this country are providing the experience and the knowledge, and every effort is being made and is to be made to protect our soldiers against any possible loss or sacrifice that can be avoided in this great undertaking.

Modern times have witnessed many new things. The great science of medicine and sanitation has wonderfully advanced, and all the safeguards that knowledge and science can throw around our soldiers are to be placed about them. And in these great encampments, where they are to be trained, modern recreation experts are to provide wholesome

and attractive amusements for their leisure, so that when they come out of the Army they will have no scars except those honorably won in warfare against the enemy of their country.

The mere business of this enterprise is very great. Perhaps I can give some idea to you of what it means if I quote for your information a few comparative figures.

Take, for instance, the subject of aeronautics. In 1915 the Congress appropriated something less than half a million dollars for the building of aircraft in the Army. In 1917 the appropriation was $47,000,000, and now Congress has passed, and the President has signed, a bill which appropriates the great sum of $639,000,000 for the building of aeroplanes.

And the program is that American skill and ingenuity, American scientific knowledge and the skill of handicraftsmen, of inexhaustible resources of supplies, shall be drawn upon, and we shall contribute to those with whom we are associated in this war abroad the unquestionable supremacy of the air.

But to illustrate this comparison further, under normal circumstances the appropriation made by Congress for our Army's regular supplies is about $10,000,000, and this year for war the first appropriation is $110,000,000. In the item of transportation for the Army, instead of the peace time appropriation of some $13,000,000 or $14,000,000, Congress has already appropriated $222,000,000. For clothing and such items, instead of the ordinary appropriation of $6,500,000, Congress has appropriated more than $200,000,000.

Now let me give you the detail of only one item: Take the item of supplies. We must buy now for the armies that we are training and sending abroad 5,000,000 blankets, 37,000,000 yards of bobinettes, 45,000,000 yards of cotton cloth, 21,000,000 yards of unbleached drilling—nay, we have to go to every factory and workshop in this country and start its wheels spinning in order that these unprecedented quantities of supplies may be available for our armies.

And then we must build in the United States 16 cities within the incredibly short space of time of three months.

They are to be built of wood, and each of these 16 cities is to house 40,000 men, not only with places of shelter, but with places for their cooking, hospitals and all of the buildings that ordinarily go with a city.

I tell you these things, not to magnify the size of the task but to illustrate to you the way in which our progress is being made, for I can tell you that, although all these things are unprecedented in size and quantity, American industry is so rapidly responding that they are being furnished and will be supplied on time.

In contemplation of these achievements, however, there is one particular thought always to be kept in mind. We must look to the end of this great business. We at home must fight for democracy here as well as our armies for it abroad.

In the midst of our military enterprises we must be equally loyal to our own political theories here. All this vast reorganization of industry must be made without the loss of the great physical and social gains which we have achieved in the last hundred years, mostly years of peace and fruitful effort and toil.

We must not allow the hours and conditions of people who work and labor in factories and workshops to be upset and interfered with. We must preserve the sweetness of our rights. We must agree in deeds of grace here, as our soldiers do deeds of grace on the other side, for I can see the day when our harbors will be filled with the mass of ships returning from abroad and bringing back our soldiers.

They will come, it may be with their ranks somewhat thinned by sacrifice, but with themselves glorified by accomplishments; and when those heroes step off the boats and tell us that they have won the fight for democracy in Europe, we must be able to tell them in return that we have kept the faith of democracy at home and won battles here for that cause while they were fighting there. The end of this whole matter is that when this war is over and it is definitely determined among the children of men that autocracy is bidden to veil its face forever; when government becomes all over the world merely the instrument of enlightened popular will and judgment; when the interests of the lowest and the least in every society is vital to the welfare

and the interest of all that society; when the rule of the people is established in the world and the historians write it down that America, born in freedom and dedicated to liberty, has saved that great doctrine for the salvation of mankind—it will then be said that in 1917 we arrayed our Nation and sent to the war our soldiers; that we sustained them by our industrial enterprises at home; that we kept our national spirit pure and undefiled; and that the dawn of liberty for men all over the world dates from that day when our soldiers landed in France and began the final conquest for freedom.